Micro-typology of Nominal TAM in the Northwest Coast Sprachbund

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Workshop 11, *Microtypology: Zooming in to get at the big picture*

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Introduction

- The morphological encoding of temporal values in nominals is known as nominal TAM or nominal tense (N-TAM), following Nordlinger & Sadler (2004). Despite presenting itself as a fringe phenomenon, it was shown to occur in several languages (Muysken 2008, Aikhenvald 2022).

- Indigenous South American languages are by far the most known and cited, but languages from other areas of the world can be listed as well: among these, indigenous languages of North America are generally less represented, and few language-specific reports are found in the literature (cf. James 1991, Demirdache 1996).

- While some of the earliest records of this phenomenon come from the Pacific Northwest (PNW) (see e.g., Andrade 1933, Boas et al. 1947), no systematic cross-linguistic studies have been conducted on nominal TAM in the languages of this area.

Introduction

- The PNW represents a promising context to study this phenomenon and its areal diffusion (see Mithun 1999) because of the presence of about 20 different language families and several isolates that has favored close contact among people (and thus languages), leading to one of the most well-known linguistic areas/*Sprachbünde*: the Northwest Coast Sprachbund (NWCS).

- This work aims to provide the first comprehensive analysis of N-TAM in the NWCS. This talk is structured as follows:

    1. Methods and definition of N-TAM
    2. Linguistic properties of N-TAM in NWCS languages
    3. A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)
    4. Distribution of N-TAM in the NWCS (and beyond)
    5. Conclusions and future steps



Structure of the talk

1. Methods and definition of N-TAM

2. Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

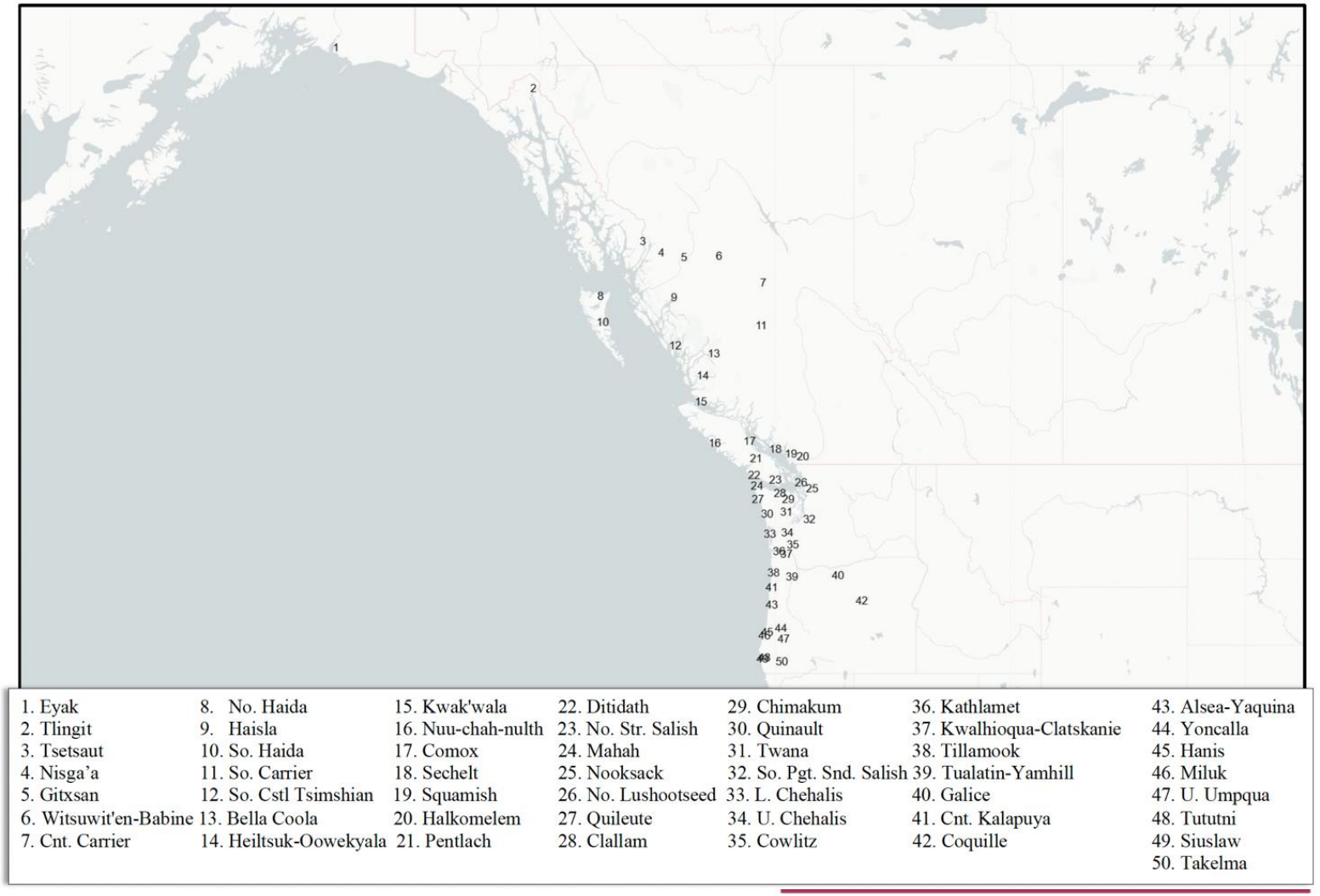
3. A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

4. Distribution of N-TAM in the NWCS

5. Conclusions and future steps

Methods

- We picked all 50 languages belonging to the NWCS (according to Glottolog).
- The areal classification is mainly based on Beck (2000).
- But we also consulted several other works (Shipley 1978; Krauss & Golla 1981; Rhodes & Todd 1981; Thompson & Kinkade 1990; Campbell 1997; Kinkade et al. 1998; Mithun 1999, 2017).



1. Eyak	8. No. Haida	15. Kwak'wala	22. Dititdath	29. Chimakum	36. Kathlamet	43. Alsea-Yaquina
2. Tlingit	9. Haisla	16. Nuu-chah-nulth	23. No. Str. Salish	30. Quinault	37. Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie	44. Yoncalla
3. Tsetsaut	10. So. Haida	17. Comox	24. Mahah	31. Twana	38. Tillamook	45. Hanis
4. Nisga'a	11. So. Carrier	18. Sechelt	25. Nooksack	32. So. Pgt. Snd. Salish	39. Tualatin-Yamhill	46. Miluk
5. Gitxsan	12. So. Cstl Tsimshian	19. Squamish	26. No. Lushootseed	33. L. Chehalis	40. Galice	47. U. Umpqua
6. Witsuwit'en-Babine	13. Bella Coola	20. Halkomelem	27. Quileute	34. U. Chehalis	41. Cnt. Kalapuya	48. Tututni
7. Cnt. Carrier	14. Heiltsuk-Oowekyala	21. Pentlach	28. Clallam	35. Cowlitz	42. Coquille	49. Siuslaw
						50. Takelma

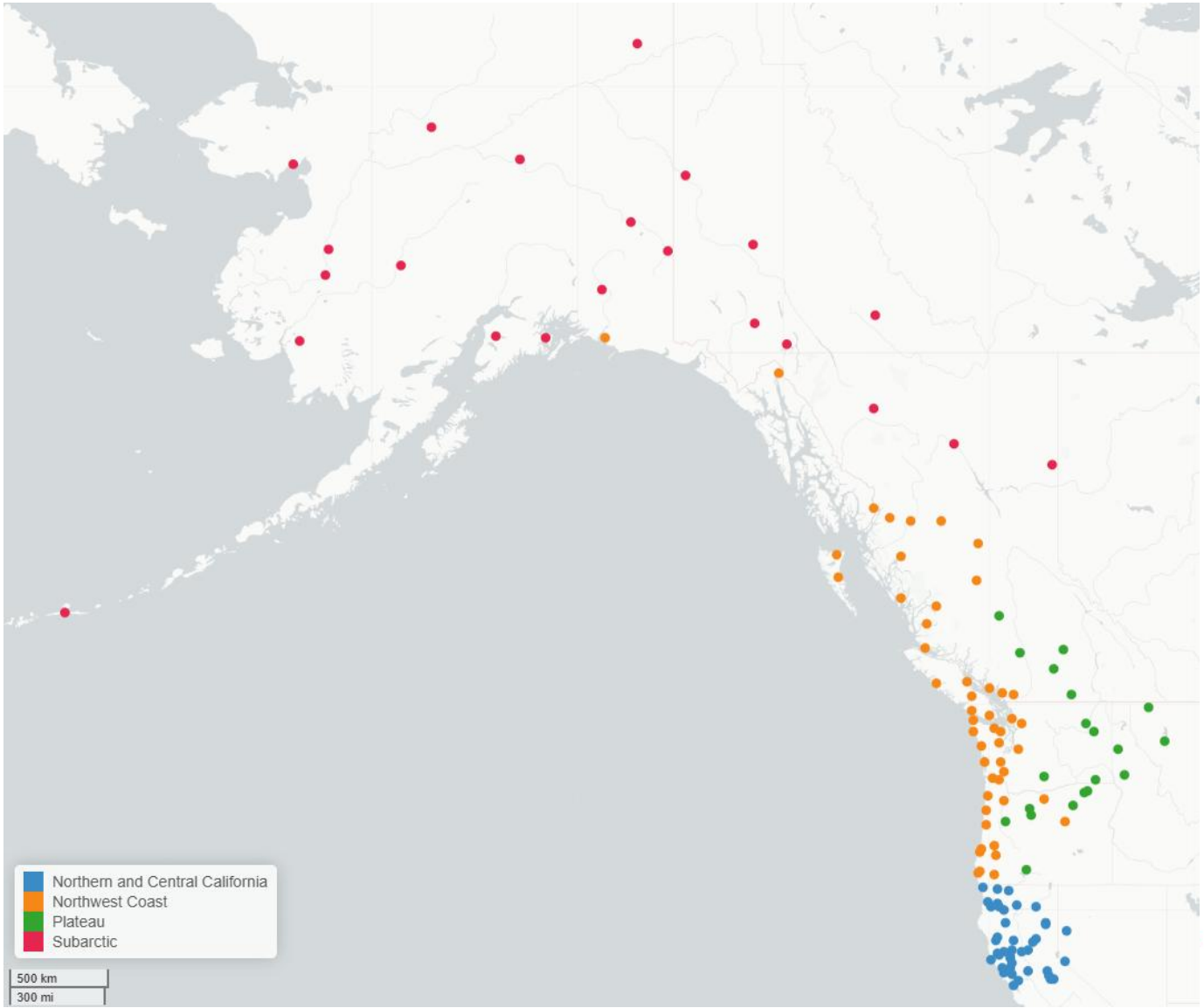
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Methods

To test the boundaries and distributions, the study has been extended to 42 neighboring languages:

- Oregon Plateau: 20 languages;
- Subarctic area: 22 languages.
- (Not to California, yet!)

The overall «dense sample» counts **92 languages**.



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Methods

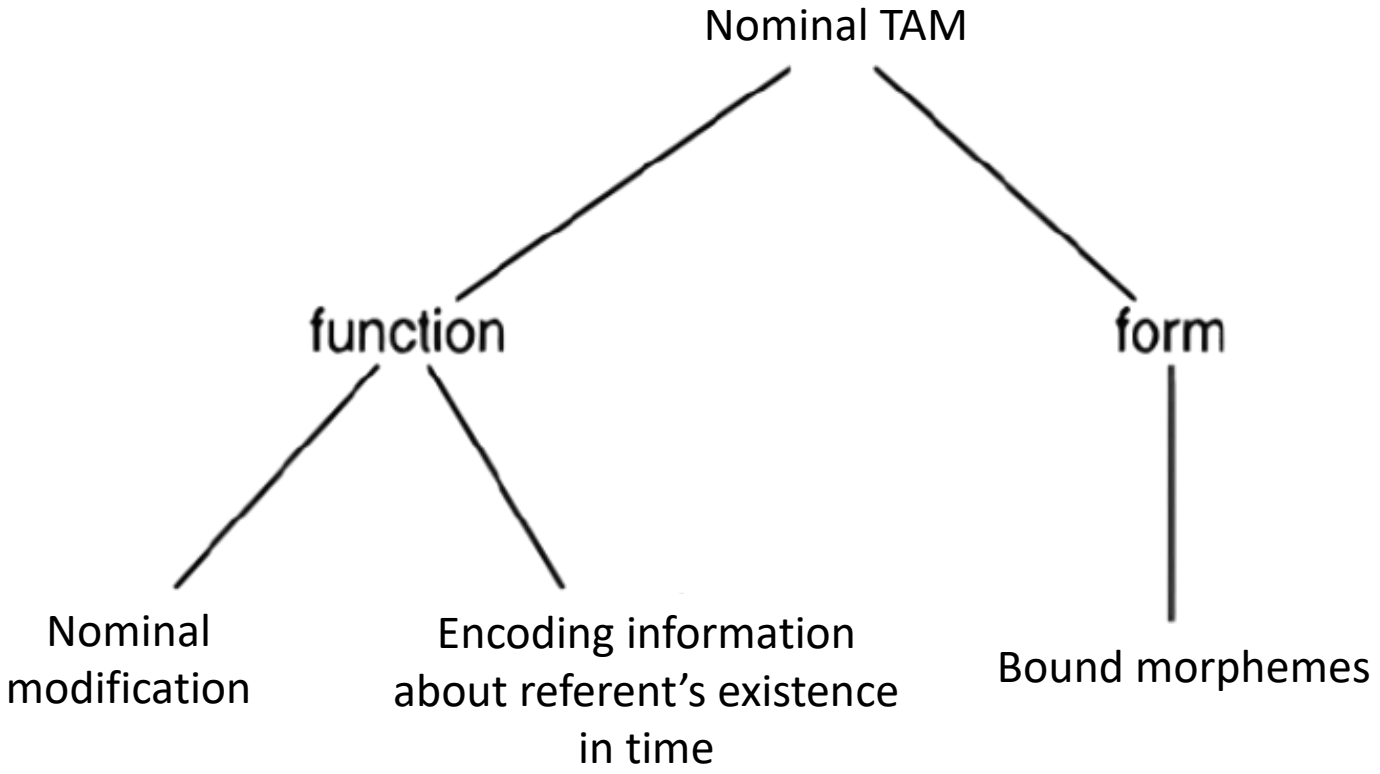
- An example taken from different sources for each N-TAM marker was extracted and tagged for genealogic and geographic information and for the following linguistic parameters.
  - ➢ Formal: Boundedness and positional subtype of the marker (affix: prefix, infix, suffix; clitic: proclitic, enclitic; etc.);
  - ➢ Functional: N-TAM value (n-future, n-past, anaphoric past, deceased referent marker, etc.).
- The final dataset counts 113 N-TAM markers from 48 languages (out of 92) areally divided as follows:
  - ➢ 73 N-TAM from 28 languages of the NWCS (out of 50);
  - ➢ 40 N-TAM from 20 neighboring languages (out of 42):
    - ✓ 17 N-TAM from 10 languages of the Plateau area (out of 20);
    - ✓ 23 N-TAM from 10 languages of the Subarctic area (out of 22).

Defining *NOMINAL TAM MARKERS*

- N-TAM as a crosslinguistically valid construction, i.e., a strategy, as per Croft (2022).

- N-TAM can be defined as the marking of nouns for relevant information about their existence in time via bound morphemes (affixes or word clitics).

- Morphological definitions are based on the Grammaticon (Haspelmath & Englisch 2026).



To be or not to be (a noun)

- In our typological investigation we adopt a reference-based definition of noun (Croft 2022): we classify as noun any root (Haspelmath & Englisch 2026) that semantically points at an entity (not an event, nor a property).

«The important point here is that morphosyntactic properties such as inflecting for number and case – or not – and combining with articles – or not – is not what makes English *book* or Russian *knigu* nouns. What makes them nouns is that they express reference to an object concept.»

(Croft 2022)

- Grammaticographic evidence is also helpful: through language-specific descriptions and texts we get further evidence on whether a nouny item can take on the prototypical functions of a noun (argument of verb or adposition, noun modifier).



Structure of the talk

1. Methods and definition of N-TAM

2. Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

3. A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

4. Distribution of N-TAM in the NWCS

5. Conclusions and future steps

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

FORMAL PROPERTIES: where do N-TAM markers occur within the NP?

Occur in VP ?	Before HN	After HN	Circumfixing	On DET	Subtot.
Y	12	24	2	2	40
N	16	11	1	5	33
Subtot.	28	35	3	7	73

- The majority of NWCS N-TAM markers occur after the head noun, either as **enclitics or suffixes**; many other occur as **prefixes or proclitics**. Remaining cases are part of circumfixing constructions or attach to the NP's determiner rather than to the head noun.
- The majority of the markers may also occur as TAM markers **within verb phrases**.

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

FUNCTIONAL PROPERTIES

We detected **4 values** of N-TAM from our sample:

1. DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST → ceased property
2. DECEASED NOMINAL PAST → ceased existence of human
3. NOMINAL FUTURE → prospective existence or property
4. ANAPHORIC NOMINAL PAST → location of the referent in the past

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

1. DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST: 19 cases from 28 languages

Nisga'a (ncg; Tsimshian, Nishga-Gitxsan; Tarpent 1998: 409)

ẇahlin *naks-t*

NMPST spouse-3SG.POSS

'her **former** husband / his **former** wife'

Comox (coo; Salishan, Coast Salish; Watanabe 2004: 484)

*šə=t^{ϑ}=k'^{w}ut'a-h-**uɬ***

DET=1SG.POSS=sticks.for.barbecuing.fish-EPEN-**NMPST**

'my **lost** barbecue sticks'

Discontinuous nominal past expresses that a property or possessive relation has **ceased** and holds **no longer true** at a given time, be it RT or UT (cf. Plungian & van der Auwera 2006).

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

2. DECEASED NOMINAL PAST: 19 cases from 28 languages

Quileute (qui; Chimakuan; adapted from Andrade 1933: 198)

*tcóotsk'i-**tco**='yi*

boy-**DCPST**=NMPST

'the **deceased** boy'

Squamish (squ; Salishan, Coast Salish; Kuipers 1967: 125)

*k°s=n-sqa'ʔq-**t***

DET.FEM=1SG.POSS-younger.sister-**DCPST**

'my **late** younger sister'

Deceased nominal past marks a human referent as **deceased** (cf. "deceased referent markers" by Dickenson & Epps 2024)

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

3. NOMINAL FUTURE: 18 cases from 28 languages

Alsea (aes; isolate, NWCS; Frachtenberg 1918: 41)

sin ***p****-ma*$^{\varepsilon}$*tuna-t-****xus***

1SG **NFUT**-daughter.in.law-AUX-NFUT

'my **prospective** daughter-in-law'

Nisga'a (ncg; Tsimshian, Nishga-Gitxsan; Tarpent 1989: 238)

tim=kí:k^{w}*-ə-ẏ=ɬ* ***tim=****ƙutàċ-t=st* *Láura*

FUT=buy>OBJ-CTL-1SBJ=INDEF **NFUT**=coat-3=DET L.

'I am going to buy Laura a coat.' [**Laura's future coat**]

Nominal future predicates that the given **property** – most often a possessive relation – will become **true** of the referent **in the future**.

Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

4. ANAPHORIC NOMINAL PAST: 16 cases from 28 languages

Heiltsuk (hei; Wakashan, Northern Wakashan; Howe 2000: 85)

*k'adayu=**ki***
pen=**ABSENT.ENCLITIC**
'a/the pen **that is gone/absent**'

Haida (hai; Haida; Enrico 2003: 255).

***ʔahl**sgee* *dlagw-ee-rahl-.uu*
those digging.stick-DF-with-TOP
'With **those** digging sticks
[, they used to poke off the things they ate with them.]'

Anaphoric nominal past locates the referent in a **past timeframe** through **evidentiality**, i.e., by implying its **absence** in the speaker's surroundings

7aa	'near speaker and visible'
haw, huu	'away from speaker and hearer and visible'
waa	'away from speaker, near hearer and visible'
7ahl	'away from speaker and hearer and not visible'

- Variously classified in grammars as *demonstratives*, *determiners*, *articles*…



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A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

- Nuu-chah-nulth (aka Nootka [nuk], [nuuc1236]) < Southern Wakashan < Wakashan
- Critically endangered: ≈ 100 native speakers + 490 semi-speakers / 7.800 (ethnic population) (ELP 2026).
- Sources:
  - Nakayama, Toshihide (ed.). 2003. Caroline Little's Nuu-chah-nulth (Ahousaht) texts with grammatical analysis.
  - Nakayama, Toshihide (ed.). 2003. George Louie's Nuu-chah-nulth (Ahousaht) texts with grammatical analysis.
  - Hieber, Daniel W.. (2020). dwhieb/Nuuchahnulth: v1.0.0 (v1.0.0) [Data set]. Zenodo.
- Textual material analysed through AntConc → qualitative analysis of 25 unambiguous occurrences of **discontinuous nominal past** marker *(m)it.*



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A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST – CEASED FUNCTION, FORMER ROLE

*ʔaḥʔaː-ʼaƛ-quː ƛiːxʷ-(y)aˑ ~ ~ ḥawɬ-uk-**it** ṕaːčiːna-ʼatḥ*

this-FIN-COND.3 laugh-CONT ~ ~ chief-POSS-**PAST** Pachina-residing

‘He was laughing saying that (lit. This is when he was laughing), Charlie Jones, the **former** chief of the Pachina people.’ [Canoe#123]

- Referent marked as *the one that used to be X*. Close to e.g., English *ex-*.

A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST – DETACHED MERONYM

hup-a·cqi *yaɬa:* *ƚuḥćiti-ʼat-**it*** *ḥawi̓ɬ-uk-**it*** *qʷayaći:k-mu·t* *ƛ̓ikmut* *ƛ̓ikmut*

roundish-at.the.bow? SONG head-POSS-**PAST** chief-POSS-**PAST** wolf-late SONG SONG

‘In the bow of my canoe, sitting there, the **head of the chief** of the wolves, _ƛ̓ikmut_ _ƛ̓ikmut_.’

[DeerJigging#46]

- Context: the hero, Son-of-Deer, is singing happily because he killed and beheaded the Wolves’ chief. As he sings, the head sits in his canoe, it is not attached to its natural “owner” anymore.
- *ḥawi̓ɬ-uk-**it*** here: clearly deceased nominal past.

A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST – CEASED OWNERSHIP

ʔu-ca-ḥta-ʼap-ʼat *čimʔiɬ-ukʷ**-it-**ʔi·* *hiɬ-L-ʔi·tq-ʔaːɬ*

it-go.to-headed.for-CAUS-SHIFT bed-POSS-**PAST**-DEF there-??-REL.3-always

‘They brought him to his **bed** where he used to be.’ [Dog#68]

- Context: a bad chief who beat his dog is turned into one by a spirit. His men catch him in this new form and bring him to what used to be his house.

A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST – LOST/DESTROYED REFERENT

qʷis-qa·ča	*qʷis-it-(y)iː*	*yaq-it-(y)iː*	*sword-**mu·t**-quː*
do.so-DUB.3	do.so-PAST-INDF.3	which-PAST-INDF.3	sword-**PAST**-COND.3

‘Nobody knows whatever happened to the **sword**.’ [Kingfisher#232]

- Context: tale of warfare between the Nuu-chah-nulth people and the British. An elder was taken into captivity and was given a sword as a gift.

- No commitment as to what happened to the sword: the speaker just considers it inaccessible.



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Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

- ***High***: Haida, Salishan, Tsimshian, Wakashan;
- ***Medium***: Chimakuan, Coosan, Isolates*;
- ***Low***: Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit

*The languages of these families that do not display N-TAM are the least described.

Family	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	3	27.3	8	72.7	11	100
Chimakuan	1	50	1	50	2	100
Chinookan	//	//	1	100	1	100
Coosan	1	50	1	50	2	100
Haida	2	100	//	//	2	100
Isolate	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	100
Kalapuyan	//	//	3	100	3	100
Salishan	12	70.6	5	29.4	17	100
Tsimshian	3	100	//	//	3	100
Wakashan	5	83.3	1	16.7	6	100
Grand Total	**28**	**66**	**22**	**44**	**50**	**100**

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

1. DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST

Family	Frequency	Position	Form	Languages	Reference
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	2/11	After HN	*-'e'* *=ÿéeÿi*	Eyak Tlingit	Krauss 2012: 269 Crippen 2012: 292
Chimakuan	1/2	After HN	*-'yi*	Quileute	Andrade 1933: 198
Coosan	1/2	On DET	POSS=*qel*	Miluk	Douglas-Tavani 2024: 460
Tsimshian	3/3	Before HN	*ẇahlin*	Gitxsan Nisga'a Southern Tsimshian	Rigsby 1986: 390 Tarpent 1998: 409 Boas 1911: 315
Wakashan	3/6	After HN	*-(w)uɬ-* *-d* *-(m)it*	Kwak'wala Haisla Nuu-chah-nulth	Boas 1947: 289 Robertson 1990: 41 Davidson 2002: 65
SUBTOTAL	10				

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

1. DISCONTINUOUS NOMINAL PAST IN SALISHAN: 9 cases out of 17 languages

Position	Form	Languages	Reference
After HN	*-(u)ɬ*	Comox	Watanabe 2003: 484
		Bella Coola	Nater 1984: 58
	yaʔ	Clallam	Montler 2012: 533
Before HN	*tu-, ta-*	Upper Chehalis	Boas 1933: 107
		Northern Lushootseed	Zahir 2018: 417
		Southern Lushootseed	Hess 1980: 52
On DET	MN=*t'ut*	Squamish	Kuipers 1967: 271
	DET=*l*	Cowlitz	Kinkade 2004: 248
Circumfixing	*si-___(-win)*	Tillamook	Edel 1939: 19

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

2. DECEASED NOMINAL PAST

Family	Frequency	Position	Form	Languages	Reference
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	1/11	After HN	*inle'*	Central Carrier	Morice 1932: 278
Chimakuan	1/2	After HN	*-'tco*	Quileute	Andrade 1933: 198
Tsimshian	3/3	Before HN	*ẇahlin*	Gitxsan Nisga'a	Rigsby 1986: 390 Tarpent 1998: 409
		After HN	*-t'a'a*	Southern Tsimshian	Dunn 1995: 94
Wakashan	5/6	After HN	*-(w)uɬ-* *-d* *-(m)it*	Kwak'wala Heiltsuk Haisla Nuu-chah-nulth, Makah	Boas 1947: 289 Howe 2000: 96 Robertson 1990: 41 Fortescue 2007: 416
SUBTOTAL	10				

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

2. DECEASED NOMINAL PAST IN SALISHAN: 9 cases out of 17 languages

Position	Form	Languages	Reference
After HN	*-(ʔu)ɬ*	Comox	Watanabe 2003: 484
		Bella Coola	Nater 1984: 58
		Sechelt	Beaumont 1985: 184
	-əɬ, ɬəʔ	Halkomelem	Suttles 2004: 64
		Northern Straits Salish	Efrat 1969: 128
	yaʔ	Clallam	Montler 2012: 533
	-t	Squamish	Kuipers 1967: 125
Before HN	*tu-*	Northern Lushootseed	Kye 2023: 292
		Southern Lushootseed	Hess 1980: 52

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

3. NOMINAL FUTURE

Family	Frequency	Position	Form	Languages	Reference
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	1/11	After HN*	*-wah* (*ya:*)	Eyak	Krauss et al. 2024: 194
Coosan	1/2	On DET	DET=*dantɬ*	Miluk	Douglas-Tavani 2024: 180
Chimakuan	1/2	After HN	*-'l·*	Quileute	Andrade 1933: 266
Haida	2/2	After HN	*hllng*^{n} *hlang*	Southern Haida Northern Haida	Enrico 2005: 765
ISOLATE	1	Circumfixing	*p-__-xus*	Alsea	Frachtenberg 1918: 106
Tsimshian	2/3	Before HN	*dim*	Nisga'a Southern Tsimshian	Tarpent 1998: 238 Boas 1911: 338
Wakashan	3/6	After HN	*-ƛ* *-a:ʔaƛ*	Kwak'wala Makah, Nuu-chah-nulth	Boas 1947: 289 Fortescue 2007: 437
SUBTOTAL	11				

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

3. NOMINAL FUTURE IN SALISHAN: 7 cases out of 17 languages

Position	Form	Languages	Reference
Before HN	*ka=*	Bella Coola	Nater 1984: 123
	sia'-	Tillamook	Edel 1939: 19
	ɬ(u)-	Northern Lushootseed	Zahir 2018: 313
		Southern Lushootseed	Hess 1980: 59
		Cowlitz	Kinkade 2004: 248
After HN	*ceʔ*	Halkomelem	Suttles 2004: 64
	ek'	Squamish	Gillon 2006: 177

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

4. ANAPHORIC NOMINAL PAST

Family	Frequency	Placement	Form	Languages	Reference
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	1/11	Before HN	*yóo*	Tlingit	Crippen 2012: 83
Chimakuan	1/2	Before HN	*tci' / kci'*	Quileute	Andrade 1933: 246-52
Coosan	1/2	Before HN	*kʷə*	Miluk	Doty 2012: 62
Haida	2/2	On DET	*ʔahl-*	Southern Haida Northern Haida	Enrico 2003: 37
Tsimshian	1/3	After HN	*=kə*	Gitxsan	Rigsby 1986: 256
Wakashan*	2/6	Before HN	*-xd(i)*	Kwak'wala Heiltsuk	Boas 1947: 290 Howe 2000: 85
SUBTOTAL	8				

Genealogical distribution in the NWCS

4. ANAPHORIC NOMINAL PAST IN SALISHAN: 8 cases out of 17 languages

Placement	Form	Languages	Reference
Before HN	*kʷ*	Halkomelem	Suttles 2004: 340
	kwa	Squamish	Gillon 2006
	kʷə	Clallam	Montler 2012: 176
	che	Sechelt	Beaumont 1985: 24
	ɬa atc/s	Tillamook	Edel 1939: 48
	ŝʌ	Comox	Harris 1981: 92
	tat	Upper Chehalis	Boas 1933: 104
Circumfixing	*ta-__-tx/-ɬ*	Bella Coola*	Saunders 1974

Genealogical distribution outside the NWCS

Within the Subarctic:

- ***High***: Eskimo-Aleut;
- ***Low***: AET.

Within the Plateau:

- ***High***: Salishan (only 1 AET language);
- ***Medium***: Chinookan;
- ***Low***: Sahaptian, Isolates.

Family	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	6	33.3	12	66.7	18	100
Eskimo-Aleut	4	100	//	//	4	100
Grand Total	**10**	**45.5**	**12**	**54.5**	**22**	**100**

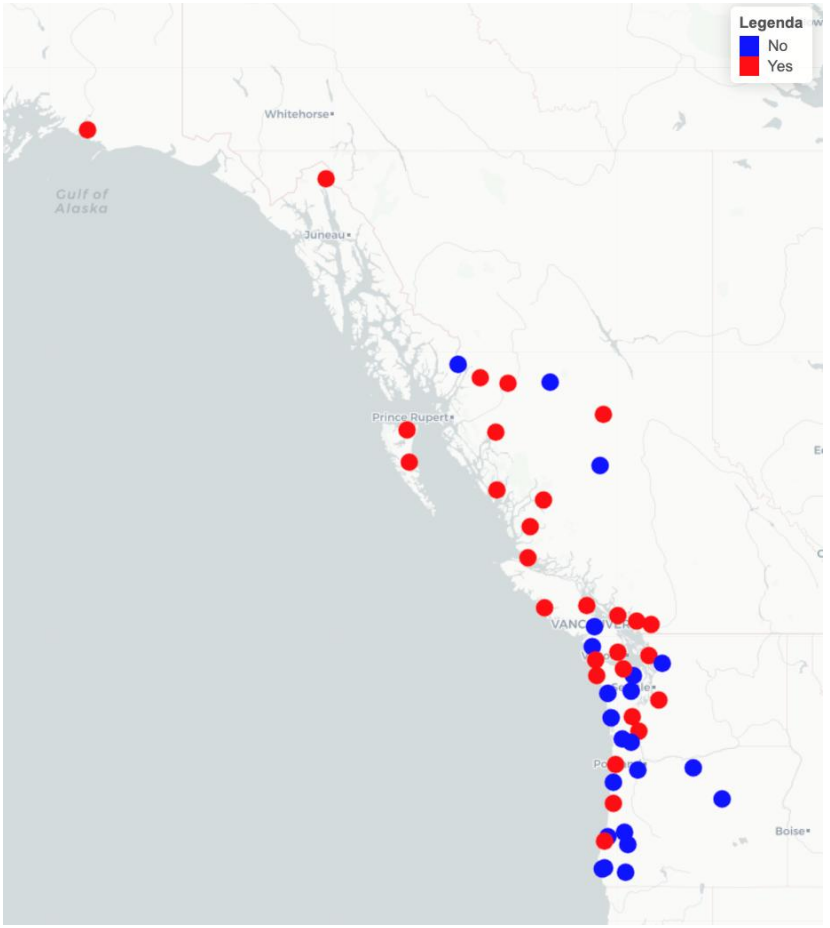
Family	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Athabaskan Eyak-Tlingit	1	100	//	//	1	100
Chinookan	1	50	1	50	2	100
Isolate	1	25	3	75	4	100
Sahaptian	//	//	5	100	5	100
Salishan	7	86.5	1	12.5	8	100
Grand Total	**10**	**50**	**10**	**50**	**20**	**100**

Geographic distribution in and out the NWCS

Within the NWCS:

- N-TAM is particularly present in the northern and central languages of the NWCS with the exception of core Athabaskan (but see Eyak and Tlingit).

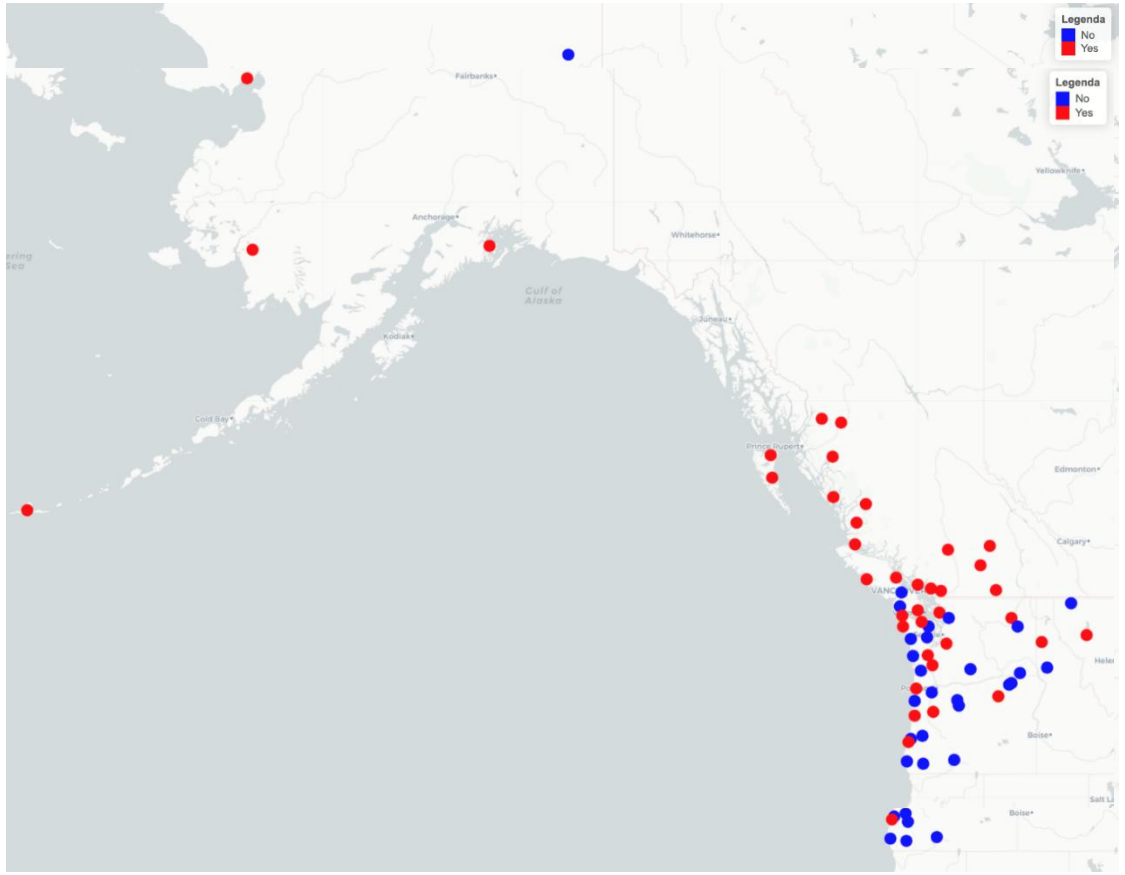
- In the southern part of the NWCS, N-TAM markers are much less widespread but still retrievable in some languages (e.g., some isolates and Coosan, but not in Kalapuyan and Sahaptian)



Geographic distribution in and out the NWCS

Within the whole PNW:

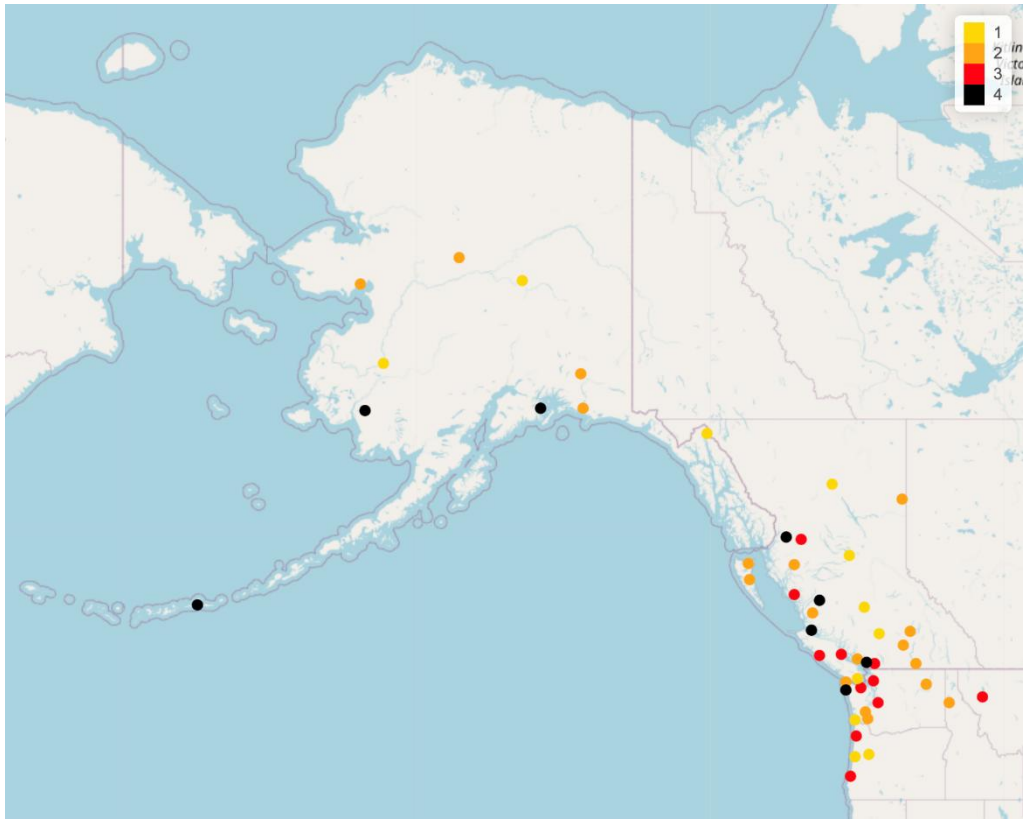
- ***High***: Eskimo-Aleut (SUBARCTIC); Salishan (NWCS + PLATEAU); Tsimshian, Wakashan, Haida (NWCS)
- ***Low***: Sahaptian (PLATEAU), Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit.
- AET however is presumably a more recent family in the area!



Geographic distribution in and out the NWCS

Let's now consider only the languages with N-TAM and the number of constructions they display, looking at their genealogical and geographic distribution.

Family	1	2	3	4
AET	5	5	//	//
Chimakuan	//	//	//	1
Chinookan	1	//	//	//
Coosan	//	//	1	//
Eskimo-Aleut	//	1	//	3
Haida	//	2	//	//
Isolate	2	//	//	//
Salishan	2	8	7	2
Tsimshian	//	//	2	1
Wakashan	//	3	1	1
Grand Total	**10**	**19**	**11**	**8**



Distribution of N-TAM in and out the NWCS

- If we consider the number of constructions, the **richest N-TAM systems** are found in **Quileute** (Chimakuan), **Salishan**, **Wakashan**, **Tsimshian**, and **Eskimo-Aleut** (Subarctic area).

- Rich N-TAM systems are most frequent in the **Northern and Central** sub-areas of the **NWCS** plus Eskimo-Aleut, but not in Athabaskan.

- N-TAM may be **areal feature** typical of the Northern-Central part of the PNW rather than a genealogical trait of some families, but this **hypothesis** needs to be further investigated.



Structure of the talk

1. Methods and definition of N-TAM

2. Linguistic properties of N-TAM in the NWCS

3. A case study: Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan)

4. Distribution of N-TAM in the NWCS

5. Conclusions and future steps

Conclusions and future steps

Addressing N-TAM markers of NWCS through a **microtypological approach** has proved useful:

- N-TAM is a crosslinguistically **rare feature** and has hardly been studied for this area; this approach allowed us to tackle a wealth of data that was at risk of being overlooked.

- Grappling with the well-known issue of determining noun- *vs.* verb-hood among the languages of the area made the crosslinguistic **generalizations stronger** and more easily applicable.

- The use of a **dense sample** led us to rely on different secondary sources (grammars and sketches, papers, dictionaries) and to interact with textual material to see N-TAM markers “in action”.

Conclusions and future steps

This work is just a preliminary examination, and we aim at extending it. We would like to:

- pursue some other language-specific and corpus-based analyses, possibly to languages displaying rich N-TAM systems (e.g., Lushootseed, Quileute, but also some Tsimshian and Eskimo-Aleut languages) to investigate their discourse behavior in more detail (> *discourse-sensitive typology*, Mattiola 2025);
- extend the analysis to languages of Northern and Central California to test the boundaries of the geographic distribution of N-TAM markers;
- propose some quantitative and statistical analyses to check our qualitative generalizations, in particular those on the areal distributions.

Thanks for your attention!

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